

# BARRICADE

AGITATIONAL MONTHLY OF THE NORTHEASTERN FEDERATION OF ANARCHO-COMMUNISTS

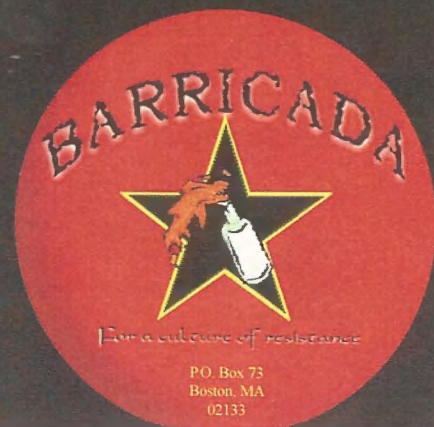
March 2002

\$2



**Another World is Possible, For Freedom and Communism!**

**INSIDE: WHY WE JOINED NEFAC / REPORT FROM  
NEFAC CONFERENCE / US IMPERIALISM: PLAN  
COLOMBIA / NORTHEAST AND INTERNATIONAL  
NEWS / DISCUSSION: BLACK BLOC AND STREET  
TACTICS AND MORE...**



*For a culture of resistance*

P.O. Box 73  
Boston, MA  
02133



## BARRICADA 15, MARCH 2002

### "LA BARRICADA CIERRA LA CALLE, PERO ABRE EL CAMINO"

Barricada is a non-partisan, non-hierarchical collective within the radical leftist spectrum with the principle aim of producing and distributing revolutionary propaganda and news.

We work to build class-consciousness through the distribution of radical left wing culture and ideas as an alternative to the state and the capitalist system. To this end we distribute pamphlets, flyers, newsletters, and other forms of propaganda, as well as participating in initiatives which are in line with our general ideas and beliefs.

The Barricada collective opposes electoral politics, the party system, and representative democracy, because we see them as cheapening true democracy and serving to take power and initiative away from the hands of people. We are also opposed to reformist alternatives aimed at making superficial changes to what we view as an inherently flawed system.

We are opposed to nationalism and other artificial divisions of the working class. However, we are also anti-imperialists and as such support oppressed peoples in their struggles of national liberation providing that they maintain a revolutionary leftist character. At the same time we bear in mind that this is not our ideal situation, as our wish is not to see the emergence of more states and borders but instead a stateless, classless society based on the principals of mutual aid, direct democracy, freely federated community structures, and workers self-management.

To this end we justify and encourage the pursuit of the class war, including but not limited to, direct action, workplace sabotage, property damage, mass confrontation, and civil disobedience. We believe that the issue of revolutionary violence should be viewed from a tactical standpoint rather than an ideological one. This said, we believe that the creation of a "culture of resistance," where the state and all other enemies of the working class are at no time safe, is an essential aspect of any social movement, serving to empower people as well as creating an atmosphere ideal for class warfare.

#### SUBSCRIBE TO BARRICADA

15 USD for 6 issues (USA and Canada)

\_\_\_\_\_ for a supporters subscription

20 USD for a subscription in Western Europe

(Money Orders are best, checks with pay to the order of blanks next, or well concealed cash at your own risk)



#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

##### INTERNATIONAL NEWS:

Page 3: Japanese Leftists Accused of Rocket Attack  
Page 3: Anti-Choice Referendum Defeated in Ireland

##### STATE REPRESSION:

Page 3: Gothenburg Defendants Need Financial Support  
Page 3: Ali Khalid Abdullah Denied Parole Again

##### NEWS FROM THE NORTHEAST:

Page 4: Direct Action Takes Out The Trash  
Page 5: Quebecois Students Protest Privatization  
Page 5: Toronto Police on Shooting Spree  
Page 5: Toronto Kindergarten Strike  
Page 6: NEFAC Conference Report  
Page 6: Civil Disobedience at Harvard University

##### COMMENTARY:

Page 7: Why NEFAC?  
Page 8: Colombian Government Retakes Offensive  
Page 9: An Open Letter to Those Involved in the Black Bloc  
Page 10: Reforming the Black Bloc: Tactics and Ideology  
Page 12: Armed Struggle in Canada  
Page 16: In Memory of the Kronstadt Revolt  
Page 17: Inside the Jornadas Anarquistas

##### UPCOMING EVENTS:

Page 18: International Day Against Police Brutality  
Page 19: Take Back Ontario  
Page 19: Anarchist Black Cross Network Conference

#### CONTACT BARRICADA

The Barricada Collective can be contacted at...

**Barricada**

**PO Box 73**

**Boston, MA 02133**

Or at...

**barricadacollective@hotmail.com**

Please feel free to donate all articles, comments, letters\* or other sorts of contributions.

**Note:** We will print all letters provided we do not find them to be particularly offensive for the obvious reasons (sexist, racist, homophobic, etc.) or simply downright not worthy of space.

Visit Barricada Online at...

**[www.barricada.org](http://www.barricada.org)**

The Barricada Collective runs a low-traffic, moderated, e-mail list to inform its readers about activities of the collective, initiatives we support, and upcoming mobilizations. If you wish to subscribe please email us at **barricadacollective@hotmail.com** and let us know.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS BRIEFS



## Japanese Leftists Suspected of Rocket Attack

**February 12, Tokyo:** Japanese left-wing radicals are suspected of firing a crude rocket launcher at a U.S. Navy oil storage facility southwest of Tokyo. There were no reports of injuries or damage in the incident near the U.S. Navy's Koshiha Fuel Terminal in the city of Yokohama, about 45 kilometers southwest of Tokyo. Local residents reported hearing a large explosion late at night, and the pigs later discovered two steel pipes attached to benches on the grounds of a high school about 400 meters away from the U.S. facility. Frayed wires and a timing device recovered at the scene indicated that one of the pipes was used to fire a projectile in the direction of the fuel terminal, but no traces of it have been found. Police suspect radical left-wing groups that have for decades voiced opposition to the U.S. military presence in Japan. They were also investigating the possibility that the incident was connected to a three-day visit by U.S. President George W. Bush to Japan scheduled to begin in the following days. U.S. Navy officials were "working closely" with Japanese police to determine the source of the blast. But they declined to comment on whether security at U.S. bases in the area had been increased in response to the incident. About 47,000 American troops are stationed in Japan as part of a bilateral security agreement.

## Anti-Choice Referendum Defeated in Ireland

Pro-choice campaigners celebrated throughout Ireland as a referendum which would have further restricted the availability of abortion in Ireland was defeated. The combined force of the government and catholic church campaigned heavily in favor of the referendum. A letter from the Catholic bishops was read at every Mass in the State over the weekend pushing for a Yes vote.

It is not possible to obtain an abortion in Ireland. There are no laws that provide for it and no hospital will carry one out. However in 1991, in what became known as the x-case judgement, a court ruling stated that abortion was allowable where there was a threat to the life of the mother, including the threat of suicide. This latest referendum was an attempt to eliminate even these minimal provisions for abortions from the law.

However we must not forget that it is still not possible to get an abortion in Ireland. Bertie Ahern has already indicated that he does not intend to introduce legislation, the other parties with the exception of Labour, are similarly refusing to commit. While Labour are making positive noises, they have done so before when in opposition and reneged on promises when in power.

## STATE REPRESSION

### Gothenburg Defendants Need Financial Support

Three of the defendants have begun their prison sentences, and have agreed to have their names and prison addresses published:

Hannes Westberg  
Anstalten i Skanninge  
box 214 596 29  
SKANNINGE Sweden  
(sentenced to 8 months)

Ivar Andersen  
Anstalten i Aby Funbo,  
755 97 UPPSALA  
Sweden  
(sentenced to 8 months)

Josse-Bjorn  
Anstalten i Boras,  
box 221 13 500 02  
BORAS Sweden  
(sentenced to 20 months)

Send mail to victims of repression in Sweden! You may send mail to other prisoners through the support group.

Please, give money! We need money to buy things, or in other ways help the prisoners through the time in prison. We also need money to be able to prepare those who are going to prison. Because there are so many people convicted after the summit there are big expenses. All money goes directly to the prisoners. All work is done voluntarily. Please help us!  
Financial support:  
Our account info:  
Postgirotbank 405 06  
Stockholm SWEDEN  
Swift "number": pgsisess  
Account Name: Nisse-Latts minnesfond  
Account number: 27602-2

### Ali Khalid Abdullah Denied Parole Again

KINCHELOE, MI: Ali Khalid Abdullah, a New Afrikan Anarchist Political Prisoner, was denied parole for the sixth time. Ali received notice of this decision shortly after being told by authorities that a leaflet sent to him from Spain, allegedly advocating armed attacks on government institutions, was rejected by the prison mailroom. This decision from the Michigan Parole Board also comes just weeks after Ali was labeled a "suspected security threat" implicated in "possible terrorist activity" by the Michigan Department of Corrections.

On February 12, a question arose in the prison mailroom at the Thumb Correctional Facility, as to whether Ali should be allowed to receive a leaflet mailed from Puerto Rico containing slogans such as "Smash Sexism" and "Fuck Patriarchy." Later on the evening of the twelfth, Ali was given "a notice of intent to conduct an administrative hearing." The notice stated that Ali was "a suspected security threat, [indicated by] group literature and photographs depicting possible terrorist activity, [and] uprising against institutions and government [and] organized from several countries."

An hour after receiving this notice, Ali was told to "pack up and get ready to be transferred." The next day (February 13) he was moved to Kinross Correctional Facility, a state-run institution in Kincheloe, Michigan, where he is currently being lodged in a cold gymnasium (Ali must wear a coat all day) with 140 other inmates who are allowed shared access to only 4 toilets. He needs to know that he is not being forgotten. Please get in touch with us or send correspondence to Ali care of: International Campaign to Free Ali Khalid Abdullah, 2716 SE 21 Ave, Portland, OR 97202, USA. or email freeali@disinfo.net.





## Direct Action Takes Out The Trash

About 15 community members were joined by 40 activists of the Northeast Federation of Anarcho-Communists who were meeting at the Progressive Action Center and a half dozen Baltimore Green Party members. The action was organized by ACORN.

Neighborhood resident Leroy Hutton said, "The City ignores most of this community when it comes to bulk trash pick-up."

Local recycler Richard Wills pointed to the fact that the alley between Carwell and Gorsuch is "so full of trash that you often can't drive your car through it."

At 12 noon, Residents and activists first moved bulk trash from the vacant lot on Gorsuch Ave onto Gorsuch. The Baltimore Department of Public Works was then called to come pick up the garbage. As typical, they failed to respond to the residents of the CHM neighborhood.

Then residents and activists moved bulk trash from Gorsuch there to the middle of Hartford Road blocking four lanes of traffic.

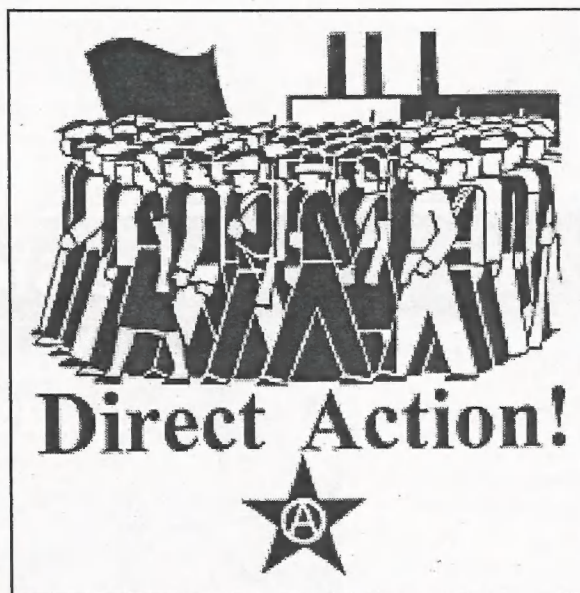
Protesters chanted:  
"Hey, Hey! Ho, Ho! All this trash has got to go!" "No justice, no peace!"  
"Who are we? ACORN. What do we want? Justice. When do we want it? Now."

Baltimore City Police arrived at 12:20pm. Initially, the police directed protesters to clear the trash off the street. However, the protesters stood their ground. ACORN organizer Phil Andrews said that he had "called 311 a bunch of times to get trash truck out here. There are vacant lots all around this

neighborhood which the City owns, but doesn't clean up. Now it's on Hartford Road"

At 12:25pm, the police Sergeant said, "At this point, it's a safety issue." Squad cars closed down 3 blocks of Hartford Road.

Police confronted activists, threatening them with arrest if they continued to move the trash into Hartford Road. Activists definitely dropped the trash into the street



where they were standing when confronted.

At 12:33pm, residents and activists dragged an abandoned piano onto Hartford Rd.

The police attempted to stop movement of the piano, threatening the activists with arrest. Negotiation led to police allowing activists to add the piano to the pile on Hartford Road.

At 12:35 pm, a Baltimore City Fire Dept. medical vehicle needed to drive pass the trash blockade. Baltimore City Firefighters, who happened to be in the area, cleared a path for the emergency vehicle, yet expressed support for the protesters. Not only did the

Firefighters clear a path, but after the ambulance passed, the fire fighters moved the trash back into the street. The administration of Mayor Martin O'Malley is notorious for closing fire stations in poor neighborhoods.

A local fire-fighter who happened to be in the area said that "even in Belair-Edison, when you call for a three item bulk pick-up, you can't be sure they'll show. The City is not very responsive." However, Cornell Hunter, a resident of Hamilton who used to live at 2544 Garrett Avenue in the CHM neighborhood, said that bulk trash pick-up in Hamilton is "very, very, very good." Mr. Hunter, who thought that there was an accident because the police had closed off three blocks of Hartford Rd, said that when he lived in the CHM area nine years ago, the City's trash pick-up "was much better." Hunter's comments support the claim of ACORN and the neighborhood residents that the City is engaged in discriminatory practices when it comes to bulk trash pick-up.

At 12:43pm, a Baltimore City truck arrived. The protesters helped load the truck because, as organizer Soltan Shaffer said, "it's not the workers fault. It's the City's." The police eventually stopped the activists from loading the truck, and requested that they disperse.

Sunday, two officers stopped by the Baltimore ACORN office looking for looking for two ACORN organizers. On Monday, the police delivered a summons for court and charged with two counts of disorderly conduct, one count of restricting the flow of traffic, and one count of littering. Unfortunately, their charges were later raised to inciting to riot.





## Quebecois Students Protest Privatization

Quebec: Thousands of students in the street against the privatization of education

On February 21st, thousands of students from all corners of the province (at least 2500) took the streets in Quebec City to protest the "creeping privatization in the education system and for a massive reinvestment in education". Exactly two years after the student protests against the Youth Summit (which turned into a riot), the demonstration was somewhat a test for the new radical wing of Quebec student movement: The Association pour une solidarité syndicale étudiante (ASSÉ, trans : Association for a trade-unionist student solidarity, the acronym means 'Enough' in French). At least 8 public colleges were on strike for the occasion with many more participating. The march was quiet despite a McDonalds that had the poor fortune of being on the road that day (and had its windows smashed) and a few graffiti that were done.



Students take the streets against privatization in Quebec.

## Police on Shooting Spree in Toronto

Friday Feb 1st 2002 - Toronto Police officers and Paul Lentsch and rookie cop Bobby Grewal gunned down the driver of a jeep which they had stopped at 10pm, at Bloor and Havelock St. near Dufferin in the city's west end. Allegedly the driver of the Jeep had refused to get out of the vehicle and reversed it before another police cruiser blocked it in at which point both officers fired killing the driver. This marks the 15th fatal shooting by Toronto Police since 1990. The passenger of the car was unharmed (well, aside from seeing his friend murdered beside him) and was arrested for car theft.

On the night of Feb. 27 the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) shot a man in the chest after a car chase that allegedly turned into a gun-fight on highway 403 after the two occupants tried to flee on foot. According to the police, as the car neared Winston Churchill Blvd., at the Oakville and Mississauga border, it stopped and the two men inside ran away. Police sources said they fired shots at police as they fled. The officers fired back and one man was shot in the chest. A doctor who was passing by the scene stopped and tried to save the man's life until an ambulance came and took him to Credit Valley hospital, where he was being operated on last night and remains in stable condition. No one else was injured and police were still looking for the second man early this morning (good luck homeboy!).

Now, it's mere speculation on our part but maybe the shooting at the end of the month is related to the one at the beginning? Toronto's criminal class isn't dumb and if the police are going to start executing suspected car thieves in the street then they're going to have to expect that folks getting chased by the police are going to either run or fight for their survival.

We don't feel like we should have to re-count all the thugery, thievery, and lies that the Toronto Police have been accused of in recent years. From the shooting death of Edmund Yu and the beating death of Otto Vass, to the over 100 charges laid against Toronto police this year for breach of trust, sexual assault, skimming from the fink fund, beatings at cherry beach, and general corruption so bad that even chief Fuehrer Fantino has called in the feds to probe the force. Toronto Police Service: the city's largest, best equipped, and most violent street gang.

- Freyheyt Collective

## Toronto: Parents Demand More Teachers

"Please, we're not anarchists here. We just want the school board to reinstate the education assistants because it's important for kids to have a good start, we know that if you invest in quality education and a low adult-child ratio in these early years, you can save so much in the years to come." - parent Ray Mosar, who kept his child out of class in protest to budget cuts on Feb. 28

More than 40 Toronto students skipped school yesterday to protest budget cuts — from their strollers. Parents kept two-thirds of kindergarten students at Frankland Community School out of class to focus public concern on the Toronto District School Board's recent cuts to teaching assistants. Parents at Roden Public School, also in the east end, did the same as a show of support. Toronto spends about \$22 million a year on kindergarten teaching assistants, for which Queen's Park grants only \$1 million in its new funding formula. Under a sample budget discussed by trustees last night, the Toronto board will urge Ontario to pay for an education assistant in every kindergarten classroom.

"Education assistants are a safety issue as well, because when you have kids as young as 3 using the hall as part of their classroom — and ours do because our classrooms are so small — you need an extra adult to make sure the children are safe," parent Bertha Kovacs said. "But kindergarten teachers are also now expected to cover much more curriculum in math, language, science and technology — and you can't do that if you're busy taking children to the bathroom, doing up coats and solving conflicts."

Well, as anarchists, we would like to extend our solidarity to the parents, teachers and kids who are fighting back against one of the most mean-spirited government budgets and legislation that are designed to simultaneously "starve" public schools of resources and staff while giving out tax-credits to private schools that no working-class parent could ever possibly afford to send their children.

-Freyheyt Collective





# NEFAC Conference Report

The 5th semi-annual conference of the NorthEastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists was held in Baltimore, MD from Friday, February 22 to Sunday the 24. Over 50 people were in attendance at the conference which saw a significant expansion of NEFAC's membership as well as a conscious move to develop a serious long-term strategy centered around strategic interventions in concrete areas of the class struggle.

The membership of NEFAC has now expanded to include 8 member collectives and 5 supporter collectives. The member collectives are Sabate (Boston), Sophia Perovskaya (Boston), Barricada (Boston), Roundhouse (Baltimore), Tute Nere (DC), Quebec City Local Union, the Montreal Local Union, and a Montreal collective which has yet to be named. Supporter collectives are Freyheyt (Toronto), RASH (Montreal), De Cleyre (Philadelphia), Facing Reality (Montreal), and Thomas Payne Park (New York). To these can be added numerous new individual adhesions as both members and

supporters.

The most significant development of the conference was the conscious decision to move out of the "activist crisis" mode (summit-hopping and reactive politics) and begin developing a campaign of concerted, long-term interventions in specific areas of the class struggle. After a lengthy discussion regarding what areas to prioritize, it was decided to create three separate caucuses around the issues of housing/gentrification, anti-poverty work, and workplace struggles. The caucuses are to brainstorm on these issues and develop proposals for concrete federation wide interventions in the future.

These issues were chosen as they are issues which affect the daily lives of working people, and thus provide anarchists with an opportunity to conduct struggles which relate to the day to day life of people, serving as gateways to radicalization and a broader rejection of the system as a whole and the building of a revolutionary dual power.

The next significant development was the creation of a permanent women's caucus to deal with issues relating to gender and patriarchy both within the federation structure, as well as within our organizing and activity. This came following small group discussions around the issues of race and gender, an activity and form of discussion that we hope to see continued at future conferences.

Furthermore, the conference designated Barricada as the International Secretariat collective, as well as the official-agitational monthly of NEFAC (see Why We Joined NEFAC? article). There was also a speakers bureau created (to be managed by Roundhouse), a Warchest fund (by Sophia Perovskaya), and a working group to rewrite the aims and principles.

People overwhelmingly felt that it was a productive and inspiring conference, which was also marked by a direct action in conjunction with ACORN (see Direct Actions Takes Out the Trash article), and marked an important step forward in the development of NEFAC as a stable and mature federation with a clear political program and revolutionary strategy.

## Civil Disobedience at Harvard University: An Anarchist Perspective on the Living Wage Campaign

Cambridge, Massachusetts- On Tuesday February 26<sup>th</sup> dozens of Harvard University janitors, the SEIU, and their activist allies held a march and rally in Harvard Square as part of their Harvard Living Wage Campaign. The campaign has been running for over a year now, and many actions have been taken by Harvard students to force the administration to offer better pay and working conditions to their service workers, including a several month long building occupation last spring. Despite these efforts, the Harvard administration has yet to concede any significant ground to the union's or the activists' demands.

This latest demonstration culminated in a planned act of civil disobedience as approximately twenty activists took part in a soft lockdown blocking Mass. Ave., Harvard Square's busiest street. The action ultimately resulted in the arrest of all twenty or so activists involved. Far from throwing off the police or creating the havoc that the symbolic use of such lockdown tactics is typically utilized for, however, the student organizers of this demonstration had actually worked out the action with the police beforehand.

Harvard, and their allies, for their determination in the struggle for a better life, we cannot in good faith commend the "tactic" of voluntary and pre-planned arrests used by the Harvard University students. After nearly two years of begging the administration for better conditions, we would hope that the Harvard Living Wage activists would have realized the necessity of other, more direct, tactics to win their struggle. The purely symbolic nature of the protests to date betrays the fact that the campaign has been dominated by privileged students from the outset. While worker-student alliances are almost always a positive development, in the case of Harvard, it is apparent that the student activists are unwilling to compromise their continued privilege status by engaging in a serious conflict with the administration.

This is in no way a blanket condemnation of the activists working on the Harvard Living Wage Campaign, and we definitely hope to see more dialogue and collaboration between class struggle anarchists in Boston and those groups more heavily invested in the campaign. In fact,

such collaboration and dialogue was pursued and acted upon at several occasions in the Spring of 2001, and we hope to see this develop further. We offer here what we feel is constructive criticism of an important struggle, with some ideas from our perspective on how activists involved with it can be more effective. We feel it is important to always challenge ourselves and our actions, and to remember that none of us is completely free of the capitalist, racist, and patriarchal socialization we have received. In this spirit, we ask that the Harvard student activists examine their own privilege and question how that may affect the actions they choose to take.

-Beggar (Barricada Collective)



Harvard students in a staged act of "civil disobedience."



While we, as class struggle anarchists, laud the efforts of the service workers at Har-

**BARRICADA #15, MARCH 2002**





## WHY NEFAC? Barricada Position on Adhesion

The Barricada collective is now a full-fledged member of the NorthEastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists. Furthermore, Barricada the magazine is now the official monthly publication of the English speaking section of NEFAC, as well as it's International Secretariat. All this seems to be in direct contradiction to our original synthesist statements and some of our earlier politics. In this article we seek to explain how we went from synthesism to platform oriented anarcho-communism, why we feel there is a need for a platform oriented anarchist federation in the Northeast (and in North America in general), and why we are attempting to shift the focus of our activity and agitation.

### Synthesists?

Since it's inception, the Barricada collective described itself as a synthesist collective, with members identifying with anything from anarchist-communism, to syndicalism, insurrectionism, autonomism, council-communism, and so forth. However, as the collective progressed, we have all evolved towards a common political position, that of anarchist-communism. This does not at all mean that we are not still influenced by other lines of thinking, as we very much are (particularly autonomism and revolutionary-syndicalism), but simply that we feel that the totality of our politics falls best under the banner of anarchist-communism.

However, we are not comfortable with all the positions of anarchist-communism or of the "Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" (an influential text in NEFAC). Particularly in regards to some of the anti-union, or anti-revolutionary union, positions of some sectors of NEFAC. NEFAC is still developing it's position on unions, but indeed we intend to push as hard as possible for a conciliatory position between anarchist-communism and revolutionary syndicalism. A position similar to that of the CNT-f and the French Anarchist Federation which provides for strong working relationships between the two lines of thinking.

### Why An Anarcho-Communist Federation? Why NEFAC?

To us, the necessity of a revolutionary anarchist federation is a matter of cement-

ing links with other comrades and collectives, of developing a coherent revolutionary praxis, and a means of providing ourselves, as revolutionary class-struggle anarchists, with an organizing pole from which to organize concerted and long-term interventions in the class struggle.

If we as anarchists are to build revolutionary dual power to challenge the power of the state and capital and put forth viable and coherent alternatives to the status quo, we need to organize ourselves and coordinate our efforts. We feel that this cannot be accomplished simply through informal networks, but rather that it necessitates a structure within which to work on a permanent basis. This to us is the importance of creating federation structures.

Furthermore, to those who talk of "vanguardism," and "anarchist parties," we say that we seek to organize ourselves in ways that reflect the society that we seek to create, and while this may not be your vision of anarchism, it certainly is ours. Direct Democracy, decentralization, federalism, collective and individual responsibility, and communism are the pillars of the society which we seek to be a part of creating.

To those who claim that these structures are bureaucratic and eventually become anti-democratic, we say that we believe that anarchism, to be implemented on a large scale basis, requires such structures and such levels of organization. One need only to look at the CNT and the FAI at the time of the Spanish revolution to see this. These are our historical influences, and the models which we now seek to emulate. To us, NEFAC represents the embodiment of this line of thinking and these forms of organization in our region today (albeit at a very much embryonic level). We have no pretensions of NEFAC becoming a mass organization, nor is that necessarily the objective. However, we do see it as a vital organizing pole for class struggle anarchists to come together and coordinate efforts.

Quite frankly, we have become very disillusioned with some of the anti-organization, anti-class struggle, and activist centered attitudes of a significant portion of contemporary North American anarchism. While all are free to struggle as they see fit and to organize as they most identify with, we



seek to work in a different manner.

This has led us to a realization that there is a need for permanent anarchist structures with a clear platform of politics (as well as tactics), as the term anarchist has come to encompass so many different lines of thinking that synthesizing them has become next to impossible. Once again, we see this permanent structure in NEFAC.

None of this, however, implies that we intend to stop working with other groups, lending space in Barricada when they request it, or participating in mass actions. As we have very often stated, we feel them to be incredibly useful and productive and see no contradiction between day to day community and workplace based struggles and mass convergences. When they are organized correctly, they are both essential components of struggle and very much complimentary.

### How to Break Out of the Ghetto?

We feel that one of the principal problems with anarchism in North America today, and the reason why it has been trapped in middle-class punk (and often white and male) scenerism is that we have failed to reach out to people on a level that affects their day to day lives. This is why people cannot relate to us, not because of our tactics.

To say that particularly oppressed groups are put off by militant tactics because of the possible repercussions to them is to us an absurd and paternalistic lie. The oppressed know full well the violence of the state and it's institutions and are fully aware of what it takes to combat them (see LA uprising after Rodney King trial, Cincinnati, Argentina, and countless other examples). When people feel that actions are motivated by something other than purely ideological conviction, that they in fact stand to better their lives and the life of their community, is when they are willing to put themselves on the line.  
(Continued on next page.)





# COMMENTARY

*Continued from previous page.)*

This can only be achieved by focusing on the day to day issues that affect people's lives. By working on a principled level in communities and workplaces to build trust, to build bonds, and to develop the links that are absolutely necessary for any social revolution. As anarchists we have the advantage of a disregard for the legality of the state and a willingness to take direct action. Not only does this get results, but it also builds trust with communities by showing that we are not all talk (like the authoritarian left tends to be).

By focusing on the day to day, bread and butter issues, but tackling them from a revolutionary perspective, we can slowly radicalize people and open the doors to a broader critique of the system as a whole. This can be done by showing how all struggles are in the end linked, and that the bastards that raise rents in Boston, are in the end tied to the system that rains bombs on the people of Colombia. By building this awareness, urging people to organize their own lives, and focusing on struggles that have the potential to undermine the authority and power of the state and capital, we can begin building truly revolutionary dual power.

To us, this is the natural progression, not the other way around. If we are truly serious about breaking out of the anarchist/activist ghetto, then it is this kind of work we are going to have to start doing. However, we would again like to make very clear that we see no contradiction between this type of political activity and militant action. In fact, militant

action, when used correctly and responsibly, can be a great asset. It is precisely these kinds of struggles that most lend themselves to true militant direct action, rather than the usual illegal symbolic actions that are seen at mass protests. Militant defense of squats, eviction resistance, defense of the homeless against police abuse (or ideally aiding the homeless in defending themselves from police abuse), various kinds of support activity for "illegal" immigrants, and so on and so forth, these are all examples of militant and confrontational actions that are centered in concrete struggles and that have a clear potential to aid in building dual power.

Once again, in our opinion, today it is NEFAC which puts forward this line of thinking and which provides the opportunity for us to work in serious political campaigns, not as isolated anarchist individuals, but as militants with a common political and tactical program to radicalize and strengthen struggles.

These are the reasons why we have joined the NorthEastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists. We are excited about the direction we will be heading in as part of NEFAC, the direction that the magazine will move in as an organ of NEFAC, and what the future may bring. We are of course still willing to work with all those who we consider to be comrades, and will not shy away from civil comradely debate on this issue.

For Communism and Freedom!

Nicolas  
for the Barricada Collective

years of constant defeats at the hands of guerrilla forces, the army has now only regained it's confidence thanks to the sponsorship of the US and the world climate created by the events of September 11th and the subsequent "War on Terror." As was expected, the "War on Terror" is being used as a pretext to crush not only religious fundamentalism (which we are also in diametrical opposition to) but also any movement that dares to challenge the powers that be and assert the rights of oppressed peoples.

Many progressives and anti-authoritarians argue that the FARC-EP, being a hierarchical Marxist-Leninist organization, are merely rulers in the making seeking to replace one oppressive order with another, and thus, are not worthy of our support. While it is certainly true that we should be critical of organizations of this nature, particularly if we are to learn the painful lessons of our history, as anarchists we also need to keep an anti-imperialist perspective on the struggles of the third world. The fact is popular resistance in Colombia has, unfortunately (and to a large extent due not only to repression, but also shortcomings of anarchist organizing in the region) taken the shape of Marxist-Leninist insurgencies.

In Latin America struggle is most often not a question of choice, but rather life or death necessity. The oppressed people of Latin America face a daunting challenge, that of defeating the grip of US imperialism in the search for, at the least, the basic necessities of life and a more equitable social system. If we anarchists are to claim that we are not merely sectarian ideologues, but rather social fighters involved in a worldwide struggle against oppression and for the betterment of people's lives, then we cannot afford to simply write off the war in Colombia as a conflict between two militaristic powers. The struggle in Colombia is between the working class, it's trade unions, grassroots organizations, and armed wings, and the imperialist backed oligarchy. While we are, and will always be, critical of Marxist-Leninist organizations, we extend our full support to them in this battle against US imperialism and for the liberation of Colombia from the hands of the ruling elite of the nation.

Viva Colombia Libre!  
Fuera Yanquis!  
Viva LatinoAmerica!

## Colombian Government Retakes Offensive Against Rebel FARC

After several years of attempted dialogue between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army), the "peace process" in Colombia has officially collapsed, following the FARC kidnapping of a presidential candidate. The collapse of the talks has immediately resulted in an offensive on the part of the Colombian army and an invasion of the previously demilitarized zone of San Vicente del Caguan (a territory approximately the size of Switzerland with a population of

100,000).

While to many it seemed clear from day one that there could never be a peace deal reached between the FARC and the Colombian oligarchy, one must also wonder if the Colombian government and army would be nearly as bold as they are currently being were it not for the aide granted to them via the US' Plan Colombia, which has granted the Colombian army 1.3 billion dollars for anti-insurgency training, as well as modern weapons and machinery. A case could very easily be made that, after



# COMMENTARY

## An Open Letter To Those Involved In The Black Bloc

*This article originally appeared in Willful Disobedience and is being reprinted here solely as a preface to our response, and should not be taken as any kind of endorsement of the ideas expressed within.*

The anti-globalization movement has brought with it an increase in public confrontations with those in power. Of course, anarchists have been there. One of the tactics anarchists have used in these situations is that of the black bloc. I am not interested in going into a thorough discussion of the effectiveness of this tactic or discuss its merits as an anarchist practice. Rather I want to deal with a somewhat troubling recent development that has made its appearance in discussions about the black bloc. In the Summer/September 2001 issue of Barricada and in the October 2001 issue of Tute Nere there are articles discussing the tactics of the black bloc. This is certainly not surprising, nor is it uncalled-for after two years of regular summit demonstrations as well as other demonstrations in which black bloc participates were involved. What bothers me is the direction in which the examination of the black bloc has gone.

It has been said over and over again that the black bloc is not an organization, but a tactic. The organizational framework in which it has operated has been the affinity group (or at least, the small group of friends—each such group can decide for itself to what extent to which it has made a determined effort to achieve true and deep affinity). The purpose for wearing black has been anonymity and a visual statement of solidarity not the formation of an anarchist army. I am convinced that this informality has been the real strength of this tactic, providing flexibility and leaving real choice of action in the hands of individuals in relation with others of their choosing. The tactical organization here reflects the aim of a world without delegation or hierarchy, a world where the separation between decision and action has disappeared, at least to some extent.

But the context for which the black bloc was developed and in which it has been used is that of mass street demonstrations, often involving attacks against the symbols of the state and capitalism and pitched battles with the police. It was, of course, inevitable that some would start to raise the question of how to better coordinate black bloc activities. Unfortunately, this question has been raised without first dealing with more fundamental questions which would effect it and which I feel should not be ignored or given second place by those seeking to develop a specifically anarchist revolutionary practice. I would assume that very few if any anarchists would say that the defeat of the police in street battles is the central aim of anarchist struggle. Nor, for that matter, is the destruction of as much capitalist property as possible (as enjoyable and potentially useful as such destruction may be). Rather these are specific moments in the struggle that can certainly serve important purposes but that need to reflect the greater aim of an anarchist insurrectional project.

Yet in the articles in Tute Nere and Barricada, the questions raised are purely strategic, questions of immediate effectiveness. The greater question of what it is we are really struggling for is lost. And so the solutions brought up involve an increasing centralization and militarization of the black bloc, an embrace of "tactical" delegation and hierarchy. The writer of "The Communiqué on Tactics and Organization." in Barricada even goes so far as to talk of "elected tactical facilitators" (emphasis mine) and "anarchist principles of tactical leadership" with no hint of irony. The only aim reflected is that of out-maneuvering the police during demonstrations, as if these demonstrations represented the essence of the anarchist struggle. Putting the ideas of this communiqué into effect would transform the black bloc from a tactic taken up by individuals with those they know and trust into a formal and basically military organization. In my opinion, this would itself constitute an immediate defeat of our anarchist aims in our

own practice here and now regardless of what improvements there might be in black bloc street maneuvers.

As I see it, the central aim of anarchist struggle is the subversion of existence, the reappropriation of life by each of us as individuals, the creation of our relationships on our own terms free of all domination, all hierarchy, all delegation and every chain of command, even those which claim to be merely tactical, and the destruction of everything that prevents or suppresses these possibilities. Rather than examining our practice first and foremost on the level of tactics and strategies, of effectiveness in battle, our first priority should rather be to examine them in terms of whether they indeed reflect and are therefore capable of creating—not just in the future, but also here and now—our aims. Do they reflect in practice the principle of individual self-determination and the collective struggle for individual realization? Military methods involving tactical leadership are founded on chains of command, that is to say on hierarchy and obedience. As such they are in contradiction with the aims of anarchist struggle.

As I see it, the questions those involved with the black bloc need to be asking is: how do we carry out this specific method of struggle in such a way that it reflects our aims? Can this tactic be effective as a specifically anarchist tactic in the context of demonstrations? If not, then should we maybe consider the other areas of our struggle where we can continue to fight in a way where our practice reflects our aim?

The struggle against this order is the place where we can most completely implement the aims of anarchy here and now. If we give ourselves over to the domination of the strategic, to the ideology of efficiency for its own sake, we have lost what is most essential—what is left of our life. Our anarchy becomes just another political program, and not the life we desire to live here and now. I reject the sad and desperate slogan, "By any means necessary", in favor of the principle, "Only by those means that can create the world I desire, those means that carry it in their very practice as I carry it in my heart."

-Willful  
Disobedience





# Reforming the Black Bloc: Tactics and Ideology

The following is our response to issues raised by the "Open Letter to Those Involved in the Black Bloc", printed in Volume 2, issue #12 of Willful Disobedience (a letter re-printed in this issue of Barricada for your convenience), as well as to a lot of criticisms and issues that arose on the Infoshop.org newswire discussion around this letter. The response is not as complete, or necessarily well structured, as we would have hoped, due to time constraints, but we do feel that it goes a long way towards correcting some of the misconceptions around our idea of what black blocs should be, what purposes they serve, when they are of use, how they should be organized, etc.

## The Black Bloc is Outrunning it's Effectiveness

This is a claim that we are starting to hear very often in anarchist circles. The reasoning behind it tends to vary, but is generally limited to that black blocs are vehicles for purely symbolic action and confrontation, that the police are too on top of it, or that it does not serve to empower people or encourage community involvement and self-organization.

Many of us, coming from European traditions of autonomism and places where black bloc actions are bolder, better organized, and much larger than in North America (not to mention have been occurring for far longer than in North America) are quite honestly a little insulted by these claims. Anarchists in North America seem to have a tendency to want to abandon tactics and approaches which they deem to be "old" or "boring," rather than focusing on ways to develop and better them.

It is true that, now that police have come to expect them, black blocs are no longer as easily made effective as they were only a few years ago. This means that it is probably not wise to bloc up and do illegal action in small demonstrations. Like with every tool, it is a matter of using the right tools for the job at hand, and black bloc is not always that tool. We feel that black blocs, as a large scale tactic, are still in their infancy in North America, and that the solution to keeping them effective is to move them to

the next level. From the mob to the organized body, from the symbolic confrontation to the true direct action, from something seen primarily only at large summits, to a staple of local struggles.

If black blocs are moved in this direction, then they can serve to empower people, to demonstrate anarchist organizational principles in action, to move local struggles forward, and to encourage community involvement by presenting a relatively safe body from which to express one's anger and discontent (as it did in York, PA on January 12th). Clearly, as struggle escalates, repression escalates, and police tactics adapt, successful action becomes harder to carry out. However, the solution is to adapt our tactics to the realities of our day, not to abandon them (particularly when nobody has yet proposed any sort of alternative for the street aspect of our struggle, much less a better one).

Black blocs have been around in Europe for approximately two decades now, and the reality remains the same. When they are organized well, when thought and planning are put into them, the police are still unable to contain them. The same is true in North America. When we organize as we should (Seattle, A16, the Inauguration, Quebec, for example) then we are effective, and when we don't (New York City springs to mind), we are defeated.

## The Black Bloc as Fashion: "If Cops Are Looking for Kids in Black, then Anarchists Should Not Dress in Black."

On the points where we do agree, we should clearly state so. Many today do indeed seem to view the black bloc as a fashion statement. This is wrong, irresponsible, and above all dangerous. As we stated in our post-Quebec analysis, while it is understandable that people need to be given time to progress and learn in their militancy, the abundance of black bloc spectators lures others into a false sense of confidence and, in the end, endangers people.

As anarchists, we need to have a clear sense of collective responsibility and accountability, to us this means accepting that being in a black bloc necessarily carries with it certain responsibilities and duties, and that if you choose to ignore them, you are putting comrades at risk.

This being said, we feel it is important to clear up a nuts and bolts aspect of this discussion. There is a very good reason to stick to the black outfit. Simply put, it makes it next to impossible for police to single out and snatch people for particular actions which they may have committed, unless the police are amongst the bloc and can follow at a close distance (this should also not be occurring). Any other type of dress (other colors, simply dressing normally, etc.) makes the task of the police much easier. Furthermore, one should not arrive "in bloc" at an event, and one should be adept at changing clothes rapidly. Anything short of this facilitates the work of the forces of repression, and given the stiff sentences being handed out in North America for politically motivated actions, these are advantages which we cannot afford to give.

We are not content with running around in a fashion show of people dressed in black. When we put ourselves at risk, we want to make sure we are being smart about it. While we do not agree with everything in the community on tactics, we feel it is a step in the right direction, or at least in the direction which we seek to move in. This is, from the mob, to the organized body.



The Black Bloc in Gothenburg, Sweden last summer.



## From the Mob to the Organized Body

Many claim that the direction some people are calling for the bloc to move in is reminiscent of an anarchist militia, and in some cases contradictory to anarchist principles of organization. This is wholly inaccurate.

While our conceptions of anarchist organization may, and indeed do, differ from those of Willful Disobedience, they are in no way unanarchistic. Furthermore, we draw plentifully from the organizational structures of anarchist organizations of the past, such as the FAI and CNT in Spain and the Makhnovists in the Ukraine, to name but a few examples.

To us, immediately revocable delegates, federalism, direct democracy, and collective responsibility are basic principles of anarchist organization, and the pillars of the future society which we seek to create (along with communism of course). Thus, moving the bloc in this direction to us is merely a way of bringing the inner workings of the black bloc in line with the shape which we hope to see the world which we create take. This in no way represents a militarization, but rather a next step forward in building and developing our structures and tactics.

Furthermore, we most certainly do not view the black bloc as an "anarchist militia." To us an anarchist militia would be a permanent structure with an area of activity significantly different from that of the black bloc. While we certainly don't think that an anarchist militia would be a bad idea, we do think that it is, unfortunately, something that we are nowhere near being ready for.

All this said, we view with concern some of the claims made in the Willful Disobedience letter, particularly regarding the linking of democratic, popularly controlled delegation with traditional bourgeois and hierarchical methods of organization. As we stated earlier, these are to us basic tenets of anarchist organization, and pillars of the society we seek to live in. To us, what is indeed hierarchical and anti-anarchistic is what often happens at black blocs when there is a lack of a process through which to make decisions, which is that the loudest voices wield the most power (tyranny of structurelessness), and the democratic process is completely thrown aside.

It seems apparent that our vision of anarchism is fundamentally different from that of Willful Disobedience. In opposition to

our beliefs outlined above, Willful Disobedience states that "the central aim of anarchist struggle is the subversion of existence, [and] the reappropriation of life by each of us as individuals." With all due respect, it is difficult to even fathom what that exactly is supposed to mean. However, in the tradition of ascribing to those we disagree with the most logical interpretation of their argument as possible, it seems safe to say that for Willful Disobedience anarchism is a process of individual liberation from the constraints of hierarchical society. In the tradition of other individualist anarchists, they emphasize these ideas of individual autonomy and liberty to the detriment of other anarchist principles, such as collective responsibility and free association. We, as anarcho-communists, question the possibility of individual freedom without a social context. Furthermore, while Willful Disobedience may perhaps find it possible to attain their personal freedom from all forms of oppression through a strictly individualist understanding of anarchist struggle, we are still left wondering what kind of world their revolution would leave us with.

To those who accuse of "militarizing" the black bloc, or thinking only in terms of strategy, we say again (and this cannot be said enough) that our organizing on the streets is meant to reflect the shape of the society we seek to create. As anarcho-communists this society is based on federalism, direct democracy, voluntary association, democratic delegation, and communism. This is the direction we aim to see North American black blocs move in. Thus, the aim is not only to improve performance on a purely tactical level, but to bring the black blocs in line with how we seek to see society operate.

## From Symbolic Confrontation...To Direct Action

Those who are familiar with Barricada will know that we believe that in order to defeat capital and the state we must attack it on all fronts and with the use of a variety of tactics that complement each other. Thus, we believe that symbolic confrontation, which consists of the majority (though not all) of what occurs at large summits and similar events, certainly has its place and its purpose. We have repeatedly outlined what we feel these to be and will not do so again now.

However, we also certainly feel that in order to be effective as a movement with a relevance to the day to day lives of people, we need to focus more on building dual power in workplaces and communities. We feel it is a false dichotomy to pit black bloc activity against community and workplace

based struggle. Indeed, the black bloc can be a very valuable tool to bring militancy to community and workplace struggles by carrying out direct actions related to the struggle at hand.

Yet, effective and concerted direct action on a mass level often requires precision and planning, as it is not enough to simply lash out against any manifestation of the state and capital (as it is for symbolic action), but rather it is a matter of striking directly those who are the enemies in the struggle in question. To do this, in any sort of effective and coherent manner, the black bloc cannot be a mob of people running in any direction that is either away from police or where the person with the loudest voice is yelling. Because we seek to see militant tactics become a more frequently used tool in grassroots struggles, and precisely because we would like the black bloc to serve as a link between communities and militant, direct action oriented, anarchists, is why we urge for better organization and planning. It is not with the intention of becoming any sort of elite and militaristic entity, but rather with the intention of making the tactic effective and relevant to struggles that build a revolutionary dual power. The current mob is not capable of doing this.

## In Conclusion...

We hope that we have undertaken this discussion in a comradely and friendly manner, despite the very strong differences of opinion that exist. When we do indeed speak vehemently against certain ideas, opinions, and tendencies, it is not out of bad faith, but rather because we quite often see or hear our ideas being misrepresented and our motives questioned.

We believe firmly that struggles that choose morality over tactics and fail to face the enemy head on are doomed to failure. To us, the existence of black blocs, and the spirit that they embody, has allowed many a movement and struggle to break the death-grip of legality and truly fight on its own terms. Furthermore, we feel there is a very strong potential inherent in black bloc activity to sow seeds of effective anarchist organization for the future, while at the same time securing concrete gains and victories for our movement. However, this is accomplished by breaking out of the mob mentality and format and becoming an organized body that can think and act coherently, quickly, and above all, democratically and tactically. The move from symbolic confrontation to direct action will not come easily, and it will certainly require organization; organization which is more efficient tactically, completely in line with anarchist principles, and conducive to individual liberty.

Severino  
For the Barricada Collective





# The Vancouver Five: Armed Struggle In Canada

Linking anarchism to deliberate acts of violence might seem very natural to most people if they think about anarchism at all. But for most younger anarchists, it must be difficult to imagine that in the early 1980s, armed struggle in Canada not only seemed possible, but a small group coming out of the anarchist community in Vancouver actually engaged in it. Moreover there was small but significant support for all three actions.

As Direct Action and the Women's Fire Brigade, they never explicitly claimed to be anarchist. For that matter neither did their supporters. We never denied being anarchists either. Our anarchism developed out of political practice rather than theory and history. In this discussion, the word "We" will be referring to the small milieu that the Vancouver Five came out of. Only those five choose to follow their ideas through to a logical conclusion and go underground. But others were influenced by similar developments elsewhere, and shared a desire to shake up Canada politically.

The political context for Direct Action was international. In the mid to late 1970s and into the 1980s the Red Army Faction in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy were only the largest of various guerrilla groupings in Europe. Insurrection in Europe seemed possible in spite of the massive level of repression directed against these militants who assassinated and kidnapped politicians and corporate executives. Canadian anarchist papers such as Open Road, Bulldozer and Resistance brought news of these struggles to North America.

Armed struggle was also very much on the agenda in the U.S. The popular idea is that political struggle ended in the early 1970s after the end of the Vietnam war. But even if the anti war, and other movements had pulled back, remnants of the more militant groups had gone underground to wage war against the system. On the east coast, the Black Liberation Army, formed when Black Panthers went underground after learning the lesson from the intense and deadly repression directed against them, was active until 1981. The United Freedom Front and the Armed Resistance Movement were active into the early 1980s, bombing government buildings to protest American military involve-

ment in Central America and attacking corporate targets to protest their involvement in South Africa.

On the west coast, groups such as the Symbionese Liberation Army and the New World Liberation Front robbed banks, set off bombs and kidnapped Patty Hearst, a wealthy heiress. These groups were politically suspect and certainly not anti-authoritarian. Many radicals considered them to be heavily police infiltrated. But none the less they contributed to the sense that armed actions could be effective because they did have an impact.

There were also many small autonomous groupings, some of which were explicitly anarchist or anti-authoritarian, that were active up until the end of the decade. Bill Dunne and Larry Giddings, for example, are two anarchists who continue to be imprisoned in the U.S. today for actions that took place at that time. Bill and Larry were arrested in October 1979 after a gun battle through the streets of Seattle when they tried to break a friend out of jail.

The best known of these west coast groups was the George Jackson Brigade which was made up of both anarchists and Marxists. They committed a series of actions in the Seattle area in the late 1970s, often in support of the prisoner movement which was very strong at that time. The GJB was anti-authoritarian, pro-woman, pro-gay and lesbian and advocated collective as opposed to party politics. Even though all of these groups were eventually crushed, they did offer a political alternative to organizing demonstrations and putting out papers.

Open Road in Vancouver, Bulldozer in Toronto, and Resistance, which started in Toronto and then shifted to Vancouver, covered the armed resistance in the U.S. and the subsequent repression. This coverage played an increasingly important role as their above ground supporters in the U.S. were broken up, and as the mainstream left tried to distance themselves as much as possible. We published communiqués explaining the actions. We provided supportive coverage of their trials and offered an outlet for the writings of the captured combatants. Revolution, or at least a protracted struggle, seemed to be quite

possible. They were very much part of the wave of armed struggle in North America, and were part of a broader anti-NATO, anti-war machine politic. Our perspective was very much internationalist even if we understood that we had to work within our own local and national situations. In the spring of 1982 a bomb destroyed the nearly completed Cheekeye-Dunsmuir Hydro substation. It's construction had been strongly opposed by local residents on environmental grounds. It was thought that it would lead to the industrialization of Vancouver Island and the construction of nuclear power plants for export sales to the U.S. Several hundred pounds of dynamite stopped that plan in its tracks.

There was a lot of local support for the action. It wasn't clear whether or not Direct Action, which had claimed the action, was an anarchist group, and in a sense it didn't make any difference.

The action had raised the political stakes in Canada. But as the bombing had taken place in the wilderness, it was easy to ignore. The next action wouldn't be. In the late evening of October 14, 1982, a truck exploded outside the Litton Industries plant in Rexdale, in the northwest corner of Toronto, resulting in millions of dollars in damages. Seven workers were injured, one permanently. After a few days, Direct Action issued a communiqué claiming responsibility\*. As a political piece, the communiqué is as relevant today as it was in 1982, the only change being that the Cold War is over. Most importantly, they criticized themselves for seeing the cops and security guards as superheros. They weren't. The mistakes made by Direct Action were compounded by the inadequate response of





both the guards and the cops.

The bombing was pretty simple: drive a stolen van loaded with dynamite through the front gates of the Litton and park it in front of the building, leave the van, and in 35 minutes, the van explodes. To ensure that the bomb threat would be taken seriously, they drove the van right in front of a glass enclosed security guard booth. But the guards didn't notice the truck even though the van driver could clearly see the guards. Then the phoned-in warning was not understood. But at least it drew the attention of the guards to the van. Unfortunately Direct Action was a bit too clever. They had placed a box painted fluorescent orange outside the truck, easily visible from the security booth. On top of the box they placed a sheet of paper with information and instructions. They expected the guards to come over to the box once they received the phone warning. To emphasize the seriousness of the situation, they placed a stick of unarmed dynamite on top of the box. Another mistake. The security guards of course stayed away from the box, given that they didn't know that the dynamite on the box was unarmed. In spite of the obvious threat, the security guards didn't start to evacuate the plant until 20 minutes after receiving the warning phone call. And then the bomb went off early, probably set off by radio signals from the arriving police cars.

The bombing took place at a time when the cold war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. was very intense. Ronald Reagan, representing that section of the American ruling class that was out to get the so-called evil empire, had been elected president. Both sides were attempting to achieve first strike nuclear capability through new weapons such as the Cruise and Pershing Missiles, the Trident Submarines, and the Neutron Bomb. The possibility of nuclear war was very real at the time. In response, a peace movement developed in Europe, North America and elsewhere. Canada's agreement to let the U.S. test the Cruise over northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories was seen as a particular affront to peace activists. Litton had been the focus of extensive protests by peace groups since they were producing the guidance systems for the missile. There had been a series of peaceful protests at Litton resulting in the arrests of scores of protesters for civil disobedience. But as in the case of Cheekeye-Dunsmuir, the protests were going nowhere.

The initial reaction of many radicals and activists was joyful on first seeing the headlines in the paper. But this changed on more sober reflection as the implications

were thought through. The bombing wasn't just a threat to the militarized state, but to the peaceful coexistence so many activists have with the system. It is clear that even with the injuries, there was not much reaction to it by the average person. For most people the bombing was just one more spectacular event in a world gone mad.

Of course it certainly was a major event for the anarchists and the pacifists. The Toronto anarchist-communist paper *Strike!* Initially condemned the action because it would discredit the movement. It repeated the usual critique that such actions could not by themselves do anything.

Direct Action never claimed that it would. To quote the communiqué, "(w)hile we have no illusions that direct actions, such as this one, can by themselves bring about the end of Canada's role as a resource based economic and military functionary of Western Imperialism, we do believe that militant direct actions can have a constructive function as a springboard to the kind of consciousness and organization that must be developed if we are to overcome the nuclear masters."

A more sophisticated critique was issued anonymously by anarchists around *Kick It Over*. They complained that "the bombing at Litton can not be said to have increased the self-activity of either the community or the employees at the plant". Fair enough, though the same point can be said about putting out newspapers and most other things we do. These anarchists didn't condemn Direct Action for being violent, rather they put the violence in the context of state violence. Though wrongly labelling the bombing as "Vanguard Terror", it was valid to say that "clandestine organizations tend to become isolated from the people" and see their continued existence as becoming a goal in itself. Again, this problem is not unique to underground groups.

In early November, less than a month after the bombing, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* ran a major front page article linking the Litton bombing to the Vancouver anarchist community. It quoted unnamed anarchists who drew out the similarities between the politics of Direct Action and the Vancouver anarchist scene. In a later, more sympathetic article, other anarchists provided some background information as to what the purpose of the bombing might be without explicitly claiming that it was an anarchist action. This article was condemned by many anarchists in Toronto but it did help to get the ideas to a wider public.

In mid-December, the offices of the

main peace groups in Toronto were raided along with the homes of some of their most prominent members. Activists in Toronto and Peterborough were picked up and harassed and threatened by the police. It has never been clear to what extent the police actually thought that these pacifists were really suspects or whether the raids were simply used to disrupt their work against Litton. Some pacifists tried to put as much distance as possible between themselves and the bombers. But there was enough support from other pacifists to show that there need not be a total split between militants, whatever their position might be on the use of violence. The largest demonstration ever to occur against Litton happened on November 11, 1982 less than a month after the bombing. As we said at the time, armed actions can make other forms of protest more visible, rather than less credible.

Litton lost a major contract shortly after the bombing. As Litton President Ronald Keating put it, "(t)hey (the protesters) are an irritant, they get a lot of publicity, and the Americans read every damn bit of it. Pressure from these people is making the Americans look twice." He added rather sadly that, "no one else has been bombed."

In Vancouver, there had been little response to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir. But in early November, things became more intense with the firebombing of three outlets of Red Hot Video, heavily damaging two of the shops. The Wimmens' Fire Brigade had decided to make literal the name of this chain which specialized in violent pornography. The attack came just as the video industry was being introduced. Red Hot Video, an American chain, built up an inventory of video tapes that were pirated from hard-core porn films. According to *Open Road*, "(m)any of the films depicted not only explicit sex scenes, but women being trussed up, beaten, raped, tortured, forced to undergo enemas by armed intruders and other forms of degradation."

Women's groups had been fighting for six months against Red Hot Video, but there was no response from the state. Within a few weeks, scores of women's groups of all stripes had issued statements of sympathy and understanding for the action, demonstrations had been held in a dozen centres across the province, and six porn shops had closed, moved away or withdrawn much of their stock out of fear they would be the next target. Within two months the first charges were laid for combining explicit sex with violence.

The reason the Wimmens' Fire Brigade action was so successful was not simply the tactic employed, but the fact that it was so well integrated into, and complementary to the public





campaign. As B.C. Blackout, a biweekly autonomist newsletter put it, "the action of the WFB could only have the impact it did because of the months of spade work by many groups and individuals educating themselves, doing research, making contacts, pressuring the authorities, documenting their case – in short, building the infrastructure for an effective, grass roots, above-board movement. That's why women's groups were able to move so quickly and coherently to deal with the appeals of the media and the public for facts and commentary after the firebombings."

On January 20, 1983, near Squamish, B.C. the Five were returning to Vancouver from target practice in the mountains. The police, dressed as Department of Highway workers, stopped their van and in a violent attack pulled them out of the van and arrested them at gunpoint. They were charged with 12 to 15 counts, including Red Hot Video, Cheekeye-Dunsmuir, conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck, as well as conspiracy to commit more bombings. Immediately after the arrests, the police had a news conference at which displayed the extensive weaponry which they claimed had been seized from the Five. This was the beginning of what came to be called, "Trial by Media" as the police and prosecution used the media to try to contaminate public opinion not only against the Five, but against the anarchist movement in general. Newspaper headlines screamed about "police netting terrorists" and "national network of anarchist cells." The police raided 4 homes in Vancouver the morning after the first support group meeting. No arrests were made, but typewriters were seized and people were subjected to verbal abuse.

The official police story was that the break in the case came when a reporter from the Globe and Mail showed anarchist papers to the Toronto police who, noticing the Cheekeye-Dunsmuir communiqué in Resistance, sent the Post Office Box address to Vancouver. The cops there supposedly put the box under surveillance and were eventually able to track down the Five through a series of contacts. The story was convincing enough that the reporter was going to apply for the substantial reward before being talked out of it by more conscious and principled friends.

What this story was a cover for was that the police were already very aware of the Five. They had been under police surveillance for one reason or another since well before the first action. Brent Taylor and Ann Hansen in particular were pretty notori-

ous in Vancouver. A cop didn't have to be too bright to consider them as possible suspects. Many activists who didn't even know them suspected that they probably had something to do with Direct Action. They were the only ones who regularly went to demonstrations all masked up, looking much more prepared for protests in Germany than in Vancouver.

It is quite likely that the security police had actually watched them carry out the Red Hot Video actions. This became very relevant at the trials. The Vancouver police obtained warrants to tap their phones and bug their house in order to investigate Red Hot Video. Such warrants are only supposed to be issued as a last resort when all other means of investigation have failed, but in this case were issued shortly after the firebombing. Moreover, they were not needed if the police already knew who had participated in the attacks. The RCMP security service had watched them commit other crimes and had them under observation at the time of Red Hot Video, but there were no surveillance notes covering the period of the actual attack.

It was assumed that the wiretaps were actually needed by the police to connect the Five to Litton, for which it would have been more difficult for the Vancouver police to obtain a legal warrant. The evidence obtained through these bugs provided the bulk of the case against the Five, which is why the first part of the eventual trial dealt with their legality.

On June 13, 1983, the Bulldozer house in Toronto was raided by the local Litton squad. The warrant – which included the charges of Sabotage of Litton, Seditious Libel, and Procuring an abortion – specifically allowed the police to seize anything related to Bulldozer magazine. They took layout flats, letters, articles, magazines, and the mailing list. We finally got all this stuff back after a year of legal fighting.

The seditious libel charge was apparently related to a leaflet entitled Peace, Paranoia and Politics which laid out the politics around the Litton bombing, the peace movement and the arrests of the Five. Seditious Libel apparently involves calling for the armed overthrow of the state; the last time the charge had been used was in 1950 against some trade unionists in Quebec. Our lawyers eagerly anticipated defending us on this charge, but nothing ever came of it.

The Procuring an Abortion charge came about when an alleged menstrual extraction performed by a midwife, Colleen

Crosby, on a member of the Bulldozer collective, had come to the attention of the police through phone taps. Crosby was picked up a week later by cops who drove her around for several hours, threatening to charge her with the procuring an abortion charge unless she told them about any links between Bulldozer and the Litton bombing. Crosby would have refused to cooperate anyway, but she had no information to give. It took a couple of years and thousands of dollars in legal fees before the charge was eventually dropped.

Our political weakness – referring to both the Five and their supporters – became apparent during the trial and the support work we did around it. The Five assumed that they would go down in a hail of bullets, but instead of the relative glory of the spectacular death, they had to deal with the much more pedestrian reality of sitting in jail awaiting trial. This lack of political and personal preparation for the almost inevitable consequences of their actions was compounded by a lack of preparation by their supporters. It is easy to reprint communiqués from underground comrades, but far more difficult to handle raids and lawyers, harassing arrests, and watch friends and comrades distance themselves just when support and work is needed the most. One must be able to handle high-stress politics for what could be a period of years, while advancing politics that may not even be supported by one's own friends and political associates, let alone the wider society. Yet competent and principled above ground support is crucial if underground actions are to have any long term impact. The community in Vancouver was able to maintain a presence outside and inside the courtroom during the trial in spite of differences in strategy as to how to support them. In Toronto, we were able to keep the ideas in circulation, but had little public impact.

In the initial confusion, the right to a fair trial became the main demand. Since it seemed possible that the room bugs which provided the main body of evidence might be thrown out, this strictly legal course was hard to resist without prior political clarity as to how trials should be conducted. The right to a fair trial must not be ignored if the battle is going to be fought on the legal terrain at all, but it is the state's battleground, and their first weapon is criminalization. The Crown split the indictments into four trials, the first of which was on the least overtly political charges, weapons offenses and conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck. While it may be obvious to those who have a certain political understanding why guerrillas need weapons and money, television pictures of a desktop full of weapons, and reports of meticulous planning for a raid on a Brink's truck, were calculated to defuse claims that the Five were principled political activists. The fight for a fair trial did draw support from activists, progressive journalists and lawyers and human rights activists. But it can create real problems if the trial is made to appear legally "fair". Or





when, as happened, the Five eventually pled guilty. Some people who did support work felt manipulated into supporting guilty people, even though we tried to be clear that there is a difference between pleading not guilty and being innocent.

The Trial by Media strategy fell apart when the court ruled that the wiretap evidence was admissible. The first trial for the weapons and conspiracy to rob the Brink's truck began in January 1984. The evidence of the first 4 months mainly involved the surveillance prior to their arrests. In March, Julie Belmas and Gerry Hannah entered guilty pleas, including Red Hot Video, and for Julie, the Litton bombing. In April, Doug Stewart was ordered acquitted on the Brink's charge but found guilty of weapon offenses. In June, he pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir. The jury found Ann and Brent guilty of all the charges from the first trial. In June, in a surprise move, Ann pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir and Litton.

Brent was brought to Toronto for a trial around Litton and eventually pled guilty. Recognizing our own weakness, we told him that little could be gained politically in Toronto if the trial was to go ahead. In our relative isolation it was difficult to imagine taking on what would have to be a major effort to present the politics behind the bombing through a hostile mass media. Yet not doing so meant that there was never a longer-term focus nor sense of direction for those who might have been willing to come forward with more active support. It was not our most glorious moment.

To sum up this section, let me quote from Ann's sentencing statement, "(w)hen I was first arrested, I was intimidated and surrounded by the courts and prisons. This fear provided the basis for the belief that if I played the legal game, I would get acquitted or less time. This fear obscured my vision and fooled me into thinking that I could get a break from the justice system. But this eight months in court has sharpened my perceptions and strengthened my political convictions to see that the legal game is marked and political prisoners are dealt a marked deck."

Doug Stewart was sentenced to 6 years, and served the maximum 4. Gerry Hannah got 10 years, but was out in 5. Julie, only 21 at the time of sentencing, got 20 years. She appealed and got five years off when she turned against Ann and Brent, effectively sabotaging their appeal. Many people were really pissed at this betrayal by Julie, but her testimony was not the reason why Ann and Brent were convicted. If Julie

really wanted to make a deal, she could have implicated other people by lying. This she didn't do.

Brent got 22 years, and Ann got life. The sentences, especially Julie's and Ann's, were considered unduly harsh. But the state wanted to stamp out any incipient guerrilla activity. The prison system, though, determined how long people actually served. Ann and Brent were both out before 8 years were up. In comparison to what happens to American guerrillas, this was almost lenient.

Doug Stewart wrote in Open Road after their conviction that the size of the bombs was problematic. He suggested that medium-level attacks such as arson and mechanical sabotage are easier to carry out than bombings, noting that large scale actions virtually demand going underground. Direct Action understood that they had to break off contact with other political people; that to act in one city, they should live in another. But this demands enormous emotional and personal sacrifices. It was the failure to completely cut off ties with friends and lovers that left a trail for the local police. Smaller actions are technically simpler and allow, as Stewart says, "a group to come together easily and quickly around a particular issue." Medium-level activity also "has a much less intense impact on one's personal life. If you are not underground, you are less emotionally isolated, and the overall stress level is very much lower. Capture for a medium-level action would be much less devastating in every way. A two or three year sentence is no joke, but it is substantially easier to deal with than a ten or twenty year one."

To summarize, let me quote from an article in Prison News Service written ten years after Litton:

"Overt political actions such as these bombings, propaganda by deed, as they are known, are not understood in a non-political society. Even though few people will understand the motivations behind the attack, the positive side is that there won't necessarily be a major reaction against it either. It is an error to think that something like the Litton bombing will be a wake-up call for people to do something about a critical situation facing them. But properly explained it can make a difference to those people who are already concerned about the situation and who have become frustrated with other methods of dealing with the issue.

"Guerrilla actions are not an end in

themselves; that is, a single act, or even a coordinated series of actions, has little likelihood of achieving little more than some immediate goal. Such actions are problematic if it is assumed that they can be substituted for above ground work. But if they can be situated within a broader politics, one tactic amongst many, then they can give the above ground movements more room to maneuver, making them both more visible and more credible. At the same time, activists are given a psychological lift, a sense of victory, regardless of how fleeting, so that they go about their own political work with a renewed enthusiasm...

"For most North American activists, armed struggle is reduced to a moral question: 'Should we, or should we not use violent means to advance the struggle?' Though this is relevant on a personal level, it only confuses what is really a political question. Most radicals, at this point in time anyway, are not going to become involved directly in armed attacks. But as resistance movements develop in North America - and they had better or we are all lost - it is inevitable that armed actions will be undertaken by some. The question remains if these armed actions will be accepted as part of the spectrum of necessary activity. Much will depend on whether people suffer harm or injuries. Far from being "terroristic", the history of armed struggle in North America shows that the guerrillas have been quite careful in selecting their targets. There is a major difference between bombing military or corporate targets, or even assassinating police in response to their use of violence, and setting off bombs on crowded city streets. The left in North America has never used random acts of terror against the general population. To denounce any who would choose to act outside of the narrowly defined limits of 'peaceful protest' in order to appear morally superior, or to supposedly avoid alienating people, is to give the state the right to determine what are the allowable limits of protest."

Repression is most effective when it is able to keep the radical ideas from being transmitted to a new generation of activists. If the ideas can be passed on, then the next wave of activists develop their politics from the base that has already been created. Fortunately, a relatively small, but very active milieu of young activists adopted many of the politics around Direct Action and developed them through such projects as Reality Now, the Anarchist Black Cross and Ecomedia. Their work in the peace, punk and native support movements, helped ensure that such politics did not end when the Five went to prison.

- Jim Campbell





# IN MEMORY OF THE KRONSTADT REVOLT

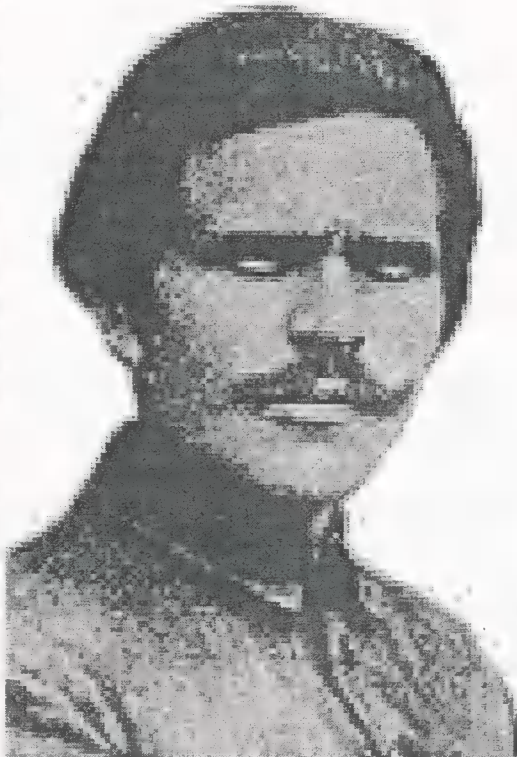
March 7th is a harrowing date for the toilers of the so-called "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" who participated in one capacity or another in the events that occurred on that date in Kronstadt. The commemoration of that date is equally painful for the toilers of all countries, for it brings back the memory of what the free workers and sailors of Kronstadt demanded of their Red executioner, the "Russian Communist Party," and its tool, the "Soviet" government, busy doing the Russian revolution to death.

Kronstadt insisted of these statist hangmen that they hand back everything that belonged to the toilers of town and country, given that it was they who had carried out the revolution. The Kronstadters insisted upon the practical implementation of the foundations of the October revolution:

Freely elected soviets, freedom of speech and freedom of the press for workers and peasants, anarchists and Left Socialist Revolutionaries.

The Russian Communist Party saw this as an unconscionable challenge to its monopolist position in the country and, concealing its craven executioner's face behind the mask of revolutionary and workers' friend, pronounced the free sailors and workers of Kronstadt counter-revolutionaries and then sent against them tens of thousands of obedient cops and slaves: Chekists, Kursanty (Red Army officer cadets - note by Alexandre Skirda), Party members . . . in order to massacre these decent fighters and revolutionaries - the Kronstadters - who had nothing with which to reproach themselves before the revolutionary masses, their only offense having been to feel outrage at the lies and cowardice of the Russian Communist Party which was trampling upon the rights of the toilers and the revolution.

fire was unleashed against Kronstadt. As was only natural and inevitable, Kronstadt fought back. Fought back, not just on behalf of their demands, but also on behalf of the other toilers of the country who were struggling from their revolutionary rights, arbitrarily trampled underfoot by the Bolshevik authorities.



Their fight back echoed throughout an enslaved Russia which stood ready to back their just and heroic fight, but was unfortunately powerless to do so, because it had been disarmed, constantly exploited and kept in bondage by the repressive detachments from the Red Army and the Cheka, specially formed to break the free spirit and free will of the country.

It is hard to estimate the losses suffered by the Kronstadt defenders and of the blind mass of the Red Army, but we may rest assured that they numbered upwards of ten thousand dead. For the most part, they were workers and peasants, the very people whom the Party of Lies had used in order to seize power, by

gulling them with promises of a better future. It had made use of them for years exclusively in pursuit of its own party interests, so as to spread and entrench its all powerful domination over the country's economic and political life.

Against the Bolshevik oligarchy, Kronstadt defended the very best of the workers' and peasants' struggle in the Russian revolution. For that very reason, the oligarchs exterminated the Kronstadters, some right after the military victory, the remainder in the dungeons and blockhouses inherited from the tsarist and bourgeois regime. Understood thus, the date of March 7th has to appear as a profoundly painful anniversary for the workers of all countries. So it is not just among Russian toilers only that the painful memory of the Kronstadt revolutionaries who perished in the fighting and the survivors who were left to rot in Bolshevik jails should be reawakened on that date. But this matter will not be resolved with moaning: aside from the commemoration of March 7th, the toilers of every land should organize rallies all over the place to protest against the outrages perpetrated in Kronstadt by the Russian Communist Party against revolutionary workers and sailors, and demand the release of the survivors languishing in Bolshevik prisons and interned in the concentration camps in Finland.

-Nestor Makhno

**This Blank  
Space Still  
Brought To  
You By Our  
Generous  
Sponsors.**

**(Please in the name of all  
that is sacred and good,  
please send us money, food,  
stamps, ammunition,  
articles, whatever you  
can spare.  
We're dying here.)**



On March 7, 1921, at 6.45 p.m., a storm of artillery

**BARRICADA #15, MARCH 2002**



# An Inside Look at the World Social Forum and the Anarchist Alternative, "Jornadas Anarquistas"

The World Social Forum (WSF), as anyone would guess, was a huge affair replete with state socialist officials, NGO's scrambling to network with each other, and every stripe of "progressives" under the sun. Many of the anarchists attended the workshops, and there were a number of anarchists in academia who were leading some workshops, but organized anarchist groups were not included in the organizing of the WSF. The "parallel" Jornadas Anarquistas was the answer to this, organized by the Federacao Anarquista Gaucha (FAG). Despite the fact it was advertised as Portuguese with Spanish translation, there was no Spanish translation, and when comrades from Suisse or France gave their conference greetings in French, there was only hardly audible translation into Spanish. The conference was organized into five days, the first of which was "greetings statements" and FAG's position paper. The second day was dedicated to theory and a Brazilian author, Lopez, spoke who just published the first ever Brazilian anarchist theory text, which is pretty important. The book is called "Poder e Dominio, uma visao anarquista." The rest of the days were dedicated to reports of current struggles from Brazil and from the rest of South America. Perhaps the highlight of these reports was from Bolivia, as a comrade from the Coletivo Libertario Santa Cruz de la Sierra spoke about the intense social and political situation there. Among other groups who spoke were Federacion Anar-

quista Uruguay, the OSL (libertarian socialism organization) from Argentina, and Laboratorio de Estudios Libertarios from Brazil.

Also represented at the conference was Libertarian International Solidarity, a network between mostly European anarchist groups and those in the South America, trying to overcome the fact that our solidarity with comrades in the south has always been haphazard at best.

In relation to the groups' theoretical positions, probably the best represented was "anarcho-spezifismo," a popular anarchist theory and tradition in Brazil, which is nearly identical to platformism. Additionally, "spezifismo" clearly defines a group's work as intervening in popular struggles "specifically" as anarchists, while working on the internal organization necessary for a platformist anarchist group. OSL, a specifismo organization, is doing a lot more of the hard participatory work in larger struggles. They are small, yet already heavily involved in some unions and in the assemblies.

Among the other anarchist groups in Buenos Aires, the Action Anti-Racismo (AAR), an anti-fascist action/anti racist action group, seemed to be doing the most street level activities. They were very involved in the uprisings in December and are now trying to inject more explicitly anti-fascist politics in the assemblies. There are many outright fascist parties with government money, so this is a difficult and dangerous task.

Some of the AAR kids have been squatting a social center in the poorest neighborhood of Buenos Aires, La Ferrere, and their work there is truly inspiring.



Thousands march through Porto Alegre during the WSF

They have sort of a medley of lifestyle politics mixed with real community organizing -- the neighborhood assembly meets there, as does a piqueteros group (the unemployed peoples movement who have had a lot to do with the level of organized resistance on the street), they have literacy classes for the local kids, most of whom would be on the street sniffing glue, other free classes, and a bartering club meets once a week in which local people exchange foodstuffs, tools, etc without using money. They have a rough statement of politics, which basically outlines an anarchist-communist society as their goal, and they are very involved in actual struggle.

Another notable group is the Mujeres Libres of Buenos Aires, half of whom are in their 50s and 60s, the other half in their 20s, which was founded in reaction to the fact that many organizations there are heavily male-dominated. The tone of the organizing the women were doing focused more around issues of survival, not attitudes on the street necessarily. Abortion is illegal thanks to the still-powerful Catholic church, and abortion access is one of the main agendas of Mujeres Libres, the other being the fight against domestic violence and abuse. Members were also involved in the local anarchist library there, some described themselves as anarchist-communist, and others were involved in the antifascist group. Everyone seemed to belong to their neighborhood's assembly.

-Sanya (NEFAC)



Anarchists gather and debate at the Jornadas Anarquistas Conference.





# UPCOMING EVENTS

## International Day Against Police Brutality

**March 15th:** International Day Against Police Brutality

**Brutality:** An extreme manifestation of police "force".

**The Police:** A group of organized and legalized criminals at the service of capitalism and the state.

Police are constantly a part of our lives. In the urban centers of our region, it is normal to cross a patrol car every two minutes. We are no longer surprised or alerted when we see police officers. On the contrary, we are surprised when they are absent! Police are everywhere and justice is nowhere to be found; the forces of "law and order" reinforce a regime which seeks to crush and criminalize the poor and the powerless when they protest their class conditions.

Stealing food from a supermarket is "illegal" because it protests the commodification of food supply and distribution rackets. Acting politically in a direct and autonomous fashion is "anti-democratic" and "illegal", since "legal" politics are strictly reserved to politicians and lobbyists. Police prevent demonstrations which question the social peace of our rulers from taking place, claiming them to be "illegal" assemblies. The police break-up picket lines of "illegal" strikers to let "legal" scabs pass through. Police evict people from their homes and squatters from their squats in the name of a "legal" notice emitted by real estate owners. It's no coincidence that it's often one class of people who end up in "illegality" and a whole other class of people who end up in "legality". While the police protect the privileges of the powerful, the decision-makers, the rulers, the rich and the owners, they try to prevent the rest of us from struggling, organizing and even sometimes from satisfying our most basic needs.

But, on top of keeping the chains of capitalism and the State on us, the police often take pleasure in squeezing them, increasing their tension until our bones break and our blood flows. Police beat, torture, brutalize and kill. This year, on March 15th 2002, we will march and protest in solidarity with Carlo Giuliani, an anarchist, 23, killed last July in an anti-globalization demonstration in Genoa, Italy. We will be with Timothy Thomas, a young black man, 19, who was shot by police last April, becoming the 15<sup>th</sup> black victim of police murder in Cincinnati in the last 5 years. We stand with Abner Louima, victim of one of the worst cases of police brutality in New York City's history. Our solidarity will also be extended to the insurgents of Argentina, Bolivia and elsewhere, particularly to the martyrs of the uprisings.

Even more, we would like to emphasize our support of all the anonymous victims of the forces of the State. People who while having faced acts of brutality, often find themselves isolated in their legal struggle against the police to regain their dignity and some sense of justice. It is extremely important to let these people know that they shouldn't be disempowered by acts of police brutality against them and that we are right in being outraged!

We salute the work of groups like the Collective Opposed to Police Brutality (COPB) from Montreal, who actively support victims of police brutality. On top of guiding them through the legal process, COPB brings friendly solidarity and tries to demonstrate that a larger, collective struggle is possible against this form of oppression. They teach us all the precious lesson that in face of repression, solidarity is our strongest weapon! We believe that it is by organizing and struggling with people who have been closely touched by the police plague, these people who often share our

rage against authority, that we will be able to build a mass revolutionary movement that will trace extreme manifestations of authority to its source: the domination of one class over another, the rule of the rich and powerful over the poor and disempowered.

We call on all revolutionary anarchists and all the supporters of anti-authoritarian revolution, on all the victims of police brutality and all the people who can no longer stomach this system of injustice to participate in the 6th International Day Against Police Brutality. Like in the last six years, this day is as important as ever. The culture of resistance to the police is growing! This day is truly international, in past years, March 15th demonstrations have been held in Colombia, Chile, Switzerland, Chattanooga Tennessee, and elsewhere. This year, our organization, the Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC), has agreed to join COPB locally in Montreal to help mobilize for the March 15th demonstration. Events around IDAPB will also be held in different cities of our region.

In Montreal: Demonstration called by COPB. Friday March 15th. Berri Square. 5p.m. Contact: nefacmtl@yahoo.fr

In Quebec city: March 15th Cultural event. Contact: nefacquebec@yahoo.ca

In Toronto: March 15th. Mass flyering in the working-class (and police occupied) neighborhood of Parkdale. Contact the Freyheyt Collective at: freyheyt@tao.ca

In Boston: Speaking event featuring Noel Ignatiev and Jaime Suarez. Lucy Parsons Center. Contact: sabate36@juno.com

**Police injustice will no longer be tolerated!  
Our struggle has no borders, it's the struggle  
of our class throughout the world!  
For Anarchy and Communism!**

**Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC)**  
[www.flag.blackened.net/nefac](http://www.flag.blackened.net/nefac)

For more information on International Day Against Police Brutality. Visit the COPB website at <http://www.tao.ca/~cobp/index.html>



**BARRICADA #15, MARCH 2002**



# OCF Mobilization to Take Back Ontario

**Ontario Common Front Calls for More Snake Marches Against the Tory Government of Ontario.**

## **OCF People's Assembly**

Saturday, March 16th - 1-4PM

Wordsworth College (UT)

119 St. George St. Room 126

Please join the OCF as we gear up to challenge the Tories at their leadership convention. This assembly is being held in order to answer questions you may have about the M22/23 mobilizations. It is also being held in order to create a space where activists can meet and network prior to the demonstrations.

Speakers from: CUPE 79, Ontario Health Coalition, High School Flying Squad, OCAP, and others.

## **Dining with the Tories!**

### **Take Back a Piece of Ontario!**

Friday, March 22nd

6:30 PM

meet at Moss Park (Queen & Sherbourne)

Rally and Snake March

The Tories will be settling in for some fine

dining while the province goes hungry. Guess who will be joining them? We are not going to let them eat without at least giving them a little indigestion. Taking a cue from our Argentine sisters and brothers we ask that everyone bring their pots and pans as we take to the streets and make some noise. As we do this, a little bird told us that some concerned Ontario citizens may be taking a piece of Ontario back and may be converting it into some temporary housing. If this is true we will drag ourselves away from the Tories and end the march at this new housing to congratulate the folks there on their civic mindedness and reflect on how they accomplished something the Tories refuse to do. Perhaps some of us will want to spend some time that night with them at their new digs.

## **Take Back Ontario 2002**

Rally & March

Saturday, March 23rd

12 PM

meet at ALLAN GARDENS (CARLTON & SHERBOURNE)

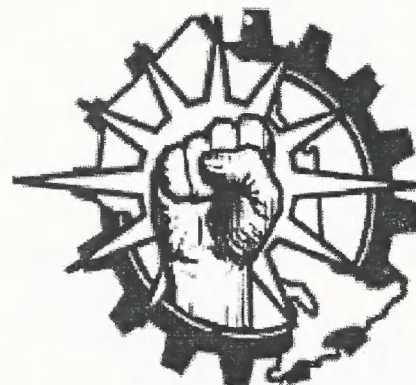
**RALLY & SNAKE MARCH**

The Tory leadership convention will be in full swing and so will we! It's not going to be

business as usual for these politicians and their corporate backers. They plan to elect a new leader. We plan to hold a mass, diverse, militant, and disciplined demonstration that converges on the convention. For this day to be a success we need your creativity and skills so start planning with your group, friends, co-workers, organization ASAP so we can show the new Tory leader that the people of Ontario are still able to fight back and this time they plan to fight to win!

<http://www.tao.ca/~ocf/>

<http://www.ocap.ca/>



## **Anarchist Black Cross Network Conference** **July 26-28, Austin Texas**

### **ABC Network conference this summer**

The first Anarchist Black Cross conference in North America since 1994 will be held July 26-28, 2002, in Austin, Texas.

Founded in the early 20th century, the Anarchist Black Cross movement seeks to bring attention to issues related to incarceration, criminalization and the treatment of adults and juveniles in state, private and federal correctional facilities.

While ABC groups do attempt to address grievances through various channels, historically the ABC tendency has not been geared purely toward reform. ABCs differ from reform groups in that they strive to build a movement to end the prison-industrial complex, and initiate work with this goal in mind. Prisons, organizers state, have become a replacement for social needs and are disproportionately applied against economically disadvantaged people and people of color (especially Black and Chicano/Latino people). Repression or prisons, they add,

do not make people fundamentally safer. A decrease in anti-social crime is only likely to happen when it is accompanied by a dramatic change in our economic, social and political systems. These conditions lie at the root of both crime and the reasons for a prison system.

The event, hosted by the autonomous Austin ABC collective and former political prisoner and Texas anarchist Chris Plummer, comes on the heels of the release of "A New Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network," which advocated the creation of a new network of anarchist anti-prison groups. Organizers say they expect this conference will bring together organizers to network around issues of prisoner support, prison abolition and anti-authoritarian struggle; and for founding the Anarchist Black Cross Network.

Some goals of this meeting include: to build our solidarity and communications among the various autonomous prisoner support tendencies; to learn together and from one another via our experiences, and educate on the ins and out of prisoner

support, freedom campaigns, etc.; to get autonomous anarchist anti-prison groups acquainted and developing an ABC network; and to help people interested in prisoner support work to organize effective ABC groups in their communities. Those affiliated with an autonomous Anarchist Black Cross group, anti-prison group, prisoner support collective or who are active in the movement against prisons, criminalization and incarceration; and those interested in forming an ABC group or in being involved in supporting the movement against prisons and in support of prisoners are welcome to attend.

Please get in touch if you would like to make a presentation, attend or have ideas for the event. Contact: Austin ABC, P.O. Box 19733, Austin, TX 78760-9733 or email [austinabc\\_@hotmail.com](mailto:austinabc_@hotmail.com). Via the web, visit [www.anarchistblackcross.org](http://www.anarchistblackcross.org).



# Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists

## Members:

-Roundhouse (Baltimore) - English-Speaking Secretariat/Speakers' Bureau

c/o Black Planet Books, 1621 Fleet St., Baltimore, MD 21231 / [roundhouse@mobtown.org](mailto:roundhouse@mobtown.org)

(send 1\$ for NEFAC membership handbook)

-La Bête Noire (Montreal)

-Sabate Anarchist Collective (Boston)

PO Box 230685, Boston, MA 02123, USA / [sabate36@juno.com](mailto:sabate36@juno.com)

-Barricada (Boston) - International Secretariat

PO Box 73, Boston MA, 02133, USA / [www.barricada.org](http://www.barricada.org) / [barricadacollective@hotmail.com](mailto:barricadacollective@hotmail.com)

-Sofia Perovskaya (Boston) - War Chest

[spcollective@hushmail.com](mailto:spcollective@hushmail.com)

-Tute Nere (DC-Baltimore)

PO Box 645, Riverdale MD, 20738 / [tute\\_nere@hotmail.com](mailto:tute_nere@hotmail.com)

## Supporters:

-Thomas Payne Park (New York)

-Facing Reality (Montreal)

-De Cleyre (Philadelphia)

-Freyheyt (Toronto)

Box 116, 339a College St., Toronto ON, M5T 1S2, Canada / [www.tao.ca/~freyheyt](http://www.tao.ca/~freyheyt) / [freheyt@tao.ca](mailto:freheyt@tao.ca)

-RASH Montreal (Montreal)

PO Box 491, Montreal, PQ, H2L-4K4, Canada / [rashmtl@hotmail.com](mailto:rashmtl@hotmail.com)

## Local Unions:

-Quebec Local Union (Quebec) - French-Speaking Secretariat

C.P. 55051, 138 St. Valliers O., Quebec (Qc) G1K 1J0, Canada / [nefacquebec@yahoo.ca](mailto:nefacquebec@yahoo.ca) / [www3.sympatico.ca/emile.henry/](http://www3.sympatico.ca/emile.henry/)

-Anarcho-Communist Union of Boston, Local # 10 (Boston)

[nefacboston@hotmail.com](mailto:nefacboston@hotmail.com)

-Montreal Local Union (Montreal)

c/o Le Trouble, C.P. St-andré, B.P. 32018, Montréal (Qc), H2L 4Y5 / [nefacmtl@yahoo.fr](mailto:nefacmtl@yahoo.fr)

## NEFAC Publications:

Northeastern Anarchist - Theoretical Publication of NEFAC. Quarterly. 4\$/issue. Editing Collective: Sabate Anarchist Collective.

Ruptures - French Quarterly of NEFAC. 3\$ (can.)/issue. Editing Collective: (Rotates between french-speaking collectives.)

Barricada - Agitational Monthly of NEFAC. 2\$/issue. Editing Collective: Barricada.

Tute Nere - Monthly. 3\$/issue. Editing Collective: Tute Nere.

Ye Drunken Sailor - Quarterly. 3\$/issue. Editing Collective: Freyheyt.

[flag.blackened.net/nefac/](http://flag.blackened.net/nefac/) (english)

[www3.sympatico.ca/emile.henry/nefac.htm](http://www3.sympatico.ca/emile.henry/nefac.htm) (french)